own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

## Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo,* respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe,* respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference.

Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur,* and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar,* or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar,* or *shine unu korkur.*

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6



First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[9]

8 *yupi:* elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.

9 *aki:* younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo:* elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *matahi:* younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *utata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar, shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar, shine onaha epeka utar,* and *onaha epeka it-irwak.* The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ie irwak,* also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar, shine unuhu epeka utar, unuhu epeka ie-irwak,* and *mat sammani ie-irwak.* The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ie-irwak,* also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poho*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poho*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku:* nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matkarku:* niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo:* grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo:* great-grandchild.

22 *hoku* (or *hokuhu*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machihi*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko, ku-kor-machi,* or *ku-kor-machihi.* A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku ussonep, kekote-kur,* or *itomnu-kar.* A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkemat,* meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ekapo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowe*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi, aki,* etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6



The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patrilateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine kuchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *kuchi ikir*.

## Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then, would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

## Conclusion

The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6



and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

## NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6



292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

771 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

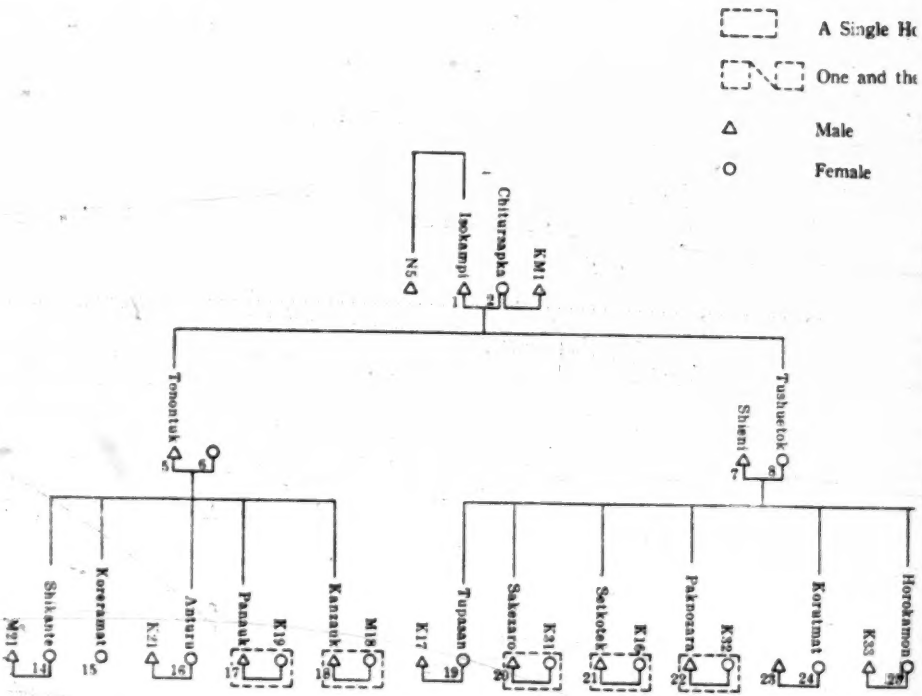
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[P 18-A1]

601 Upper Tokapchi Valley[23]

Kuttarashi (K)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 1



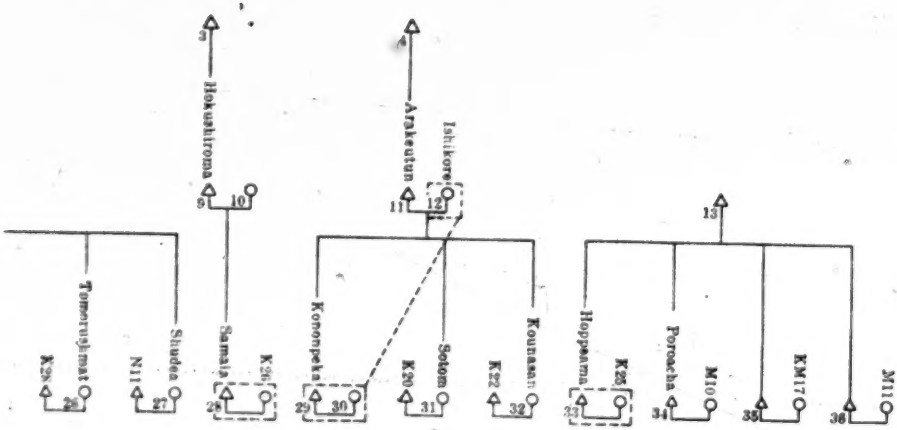
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-A2]

601

usehold

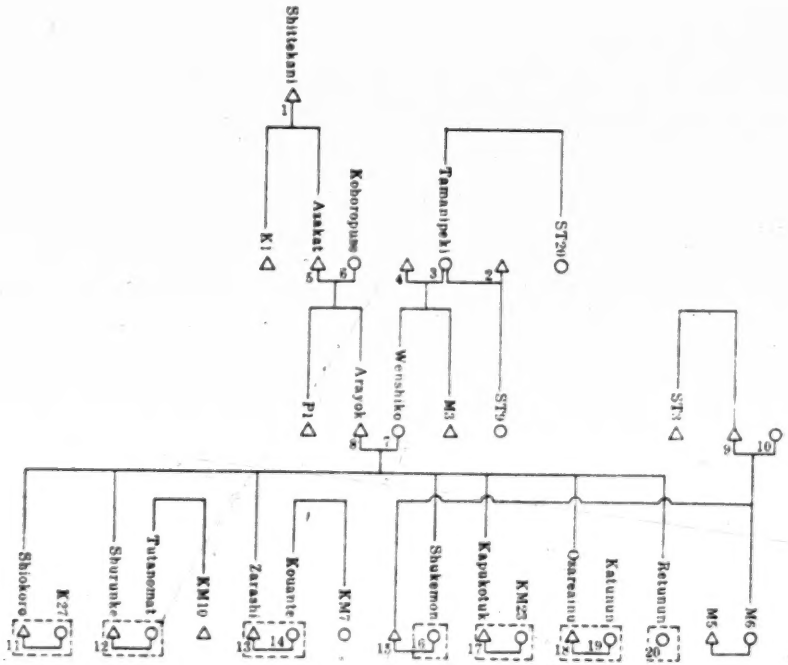
: Same Household



[p.18-B]

● 601 Nitmap (N)

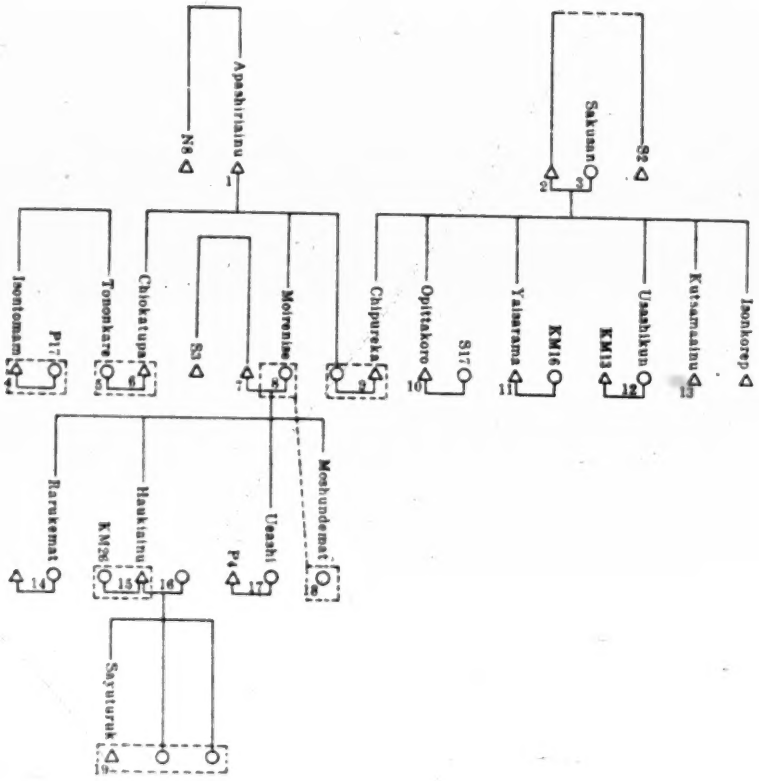
GENEALOGICAL CHART 2



[18-C]

GENEALOGICAL CHART 3

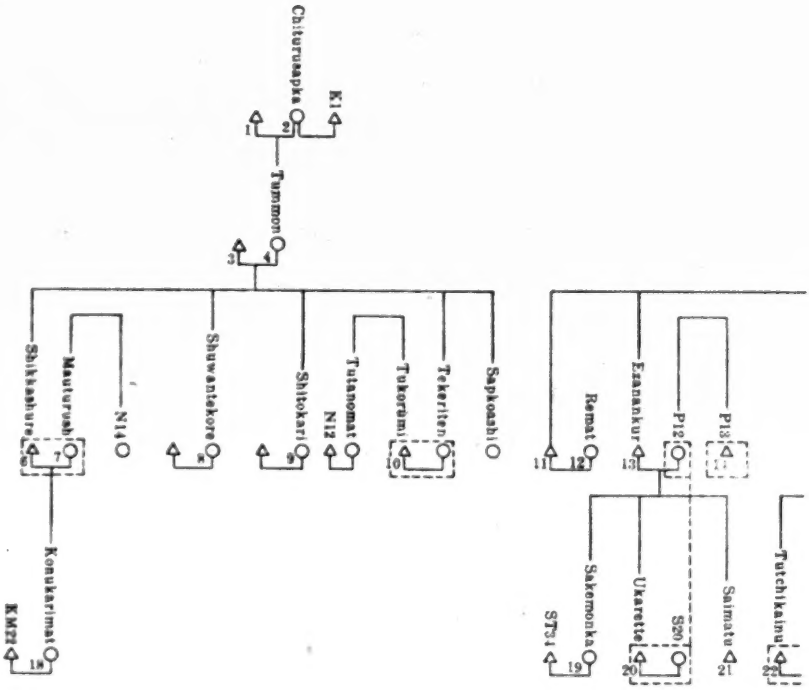
● 601 Pipaushi (P)



[p. 18-D1]

601 Kumaushi (KM)

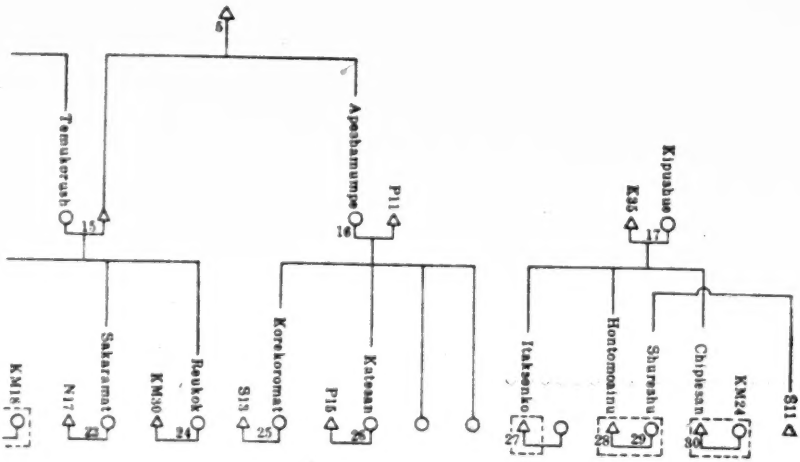
## GENEALOGICAL CHART 4



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-D2]

601

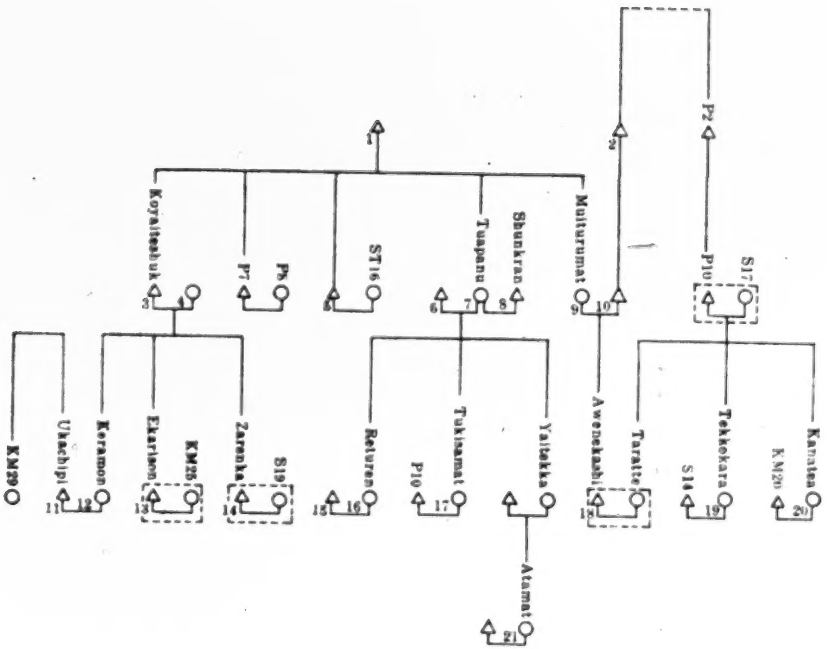


11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-E]

601 Sanenkoro (S)

GENEALOGICAL CHART 5

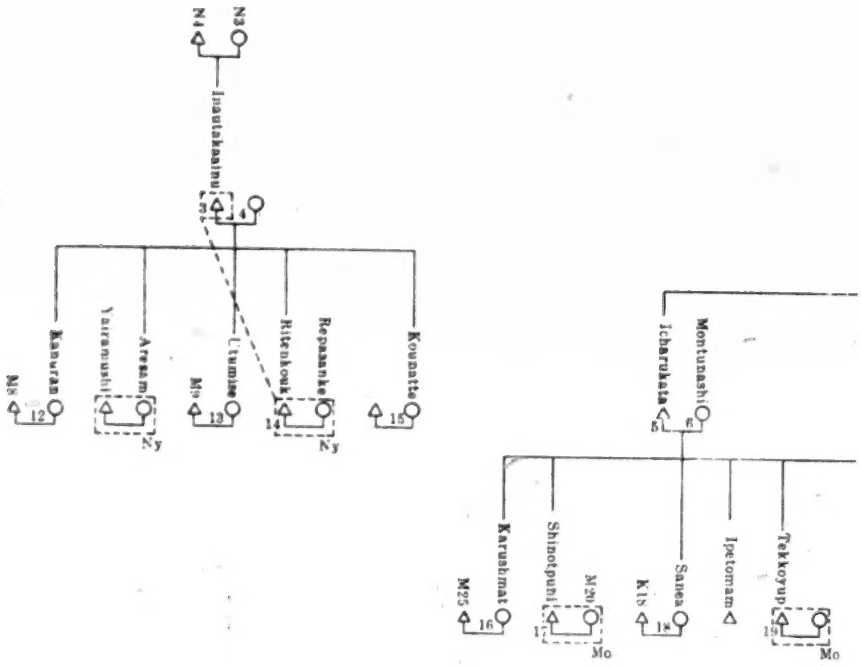


[p. 18-F1]

● 601 Moseushi (M)

Settlements: Moseushi (Mo)
Nyashkesh (Ny)
Furuka (Fr)
Sarunnai (Sa)

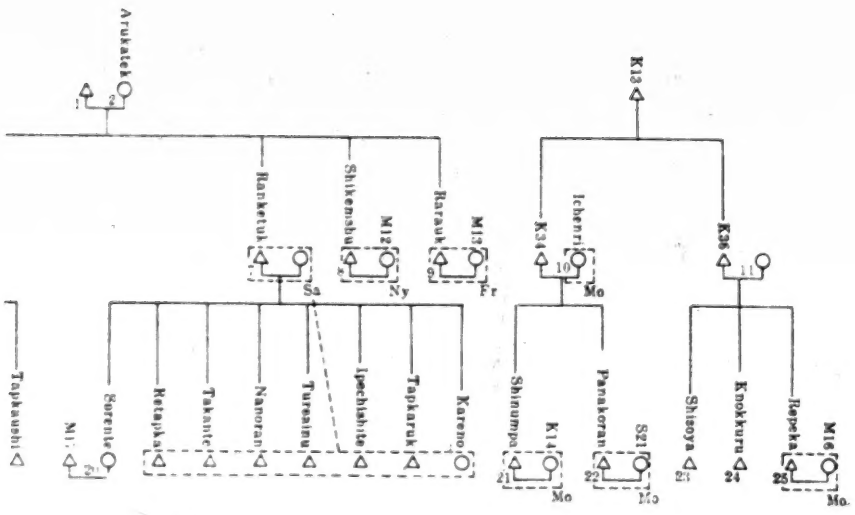
## GENEALOGICAL CHART 6



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p.18-F2]

601

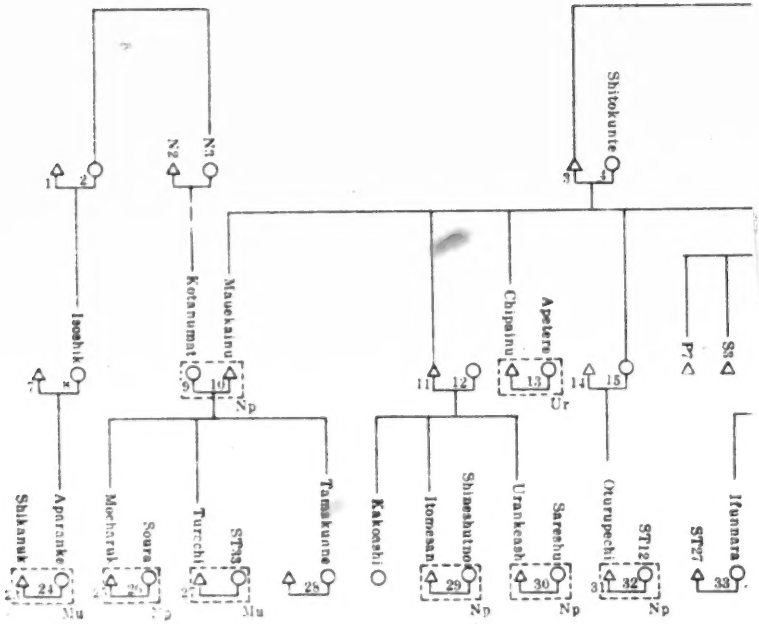


[p.18-G1]

## GENEALOGICAL CHART 7

● 601 Satnai Valley (ST)[24]

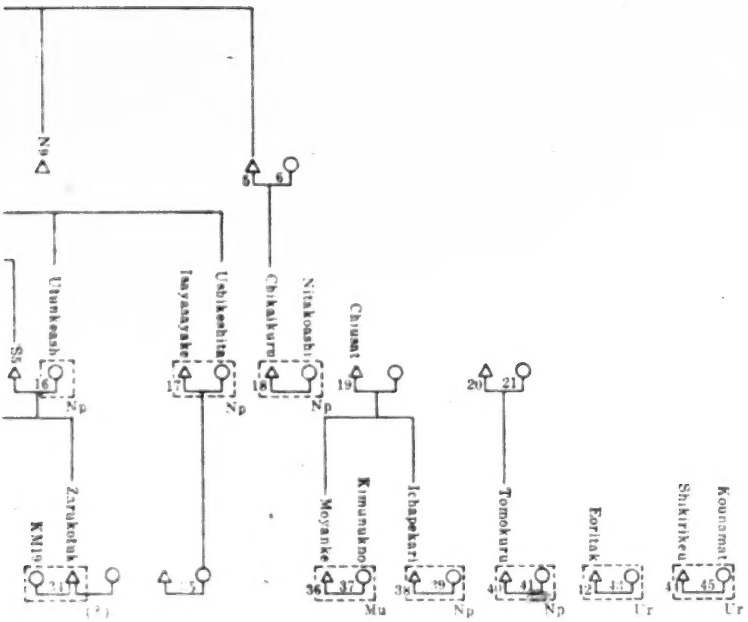
Settlements: Nupokomap (Np)
Munhunki (Mu)
Urekarip (Ur)



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[p. 18-G2]

601



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19.

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley.

*Kuttarashi* (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent.

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

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20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



very young.

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children.
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

*Pipaushi (P)* 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male househeads P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8).

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi Asahikawa headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter P18.
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai the river Shikata near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

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13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

592 *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their life-time. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

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10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

*Sanenkoro* (*S*) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father (S2 and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1 who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

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6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (*M*) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 household-heads (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

[Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



is as follows. There was at Moseushi a native headman who died without any brother or son to succeed him. Then M3, who had come from Asahikawa and married here, was made *utaru sapaha*, head of the people on account of his wisdom and personality. 601 621

1. Either the man himself or his father was native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and came migrating to Tokapchi and married a Moseushi woman. He and N1 were patrilineally related.
2. Female; native of Moseushi.
3. Native of Asahikawa. The then headman. Came to Tokapchi, married a Kuttarashi woman and then became headman of Moseushi. His wife having already been dead, lived with his son (M14). Patrilineal relative of M5 and others. See N3.
4. Female; native of Kuttarashi.
5. An eldest son; native of Shikaripet; had lived from infancy at Asahikawa. Detailed circumstances not known.
6. Female; native of Satnai and grew up at Shikaripet. For more information see note on N15.

7, 8 and 9. All native residents of Shikaripet.

10. Female; native of Moseushi. Married to K34, a man from Kuttaraushi. Widowed, she now lived alone in a separate house by her son's.
11. Female; native of Shikaripet. Married to a man from Kuttarashi K36 and lived at Moseushi.
14. "Ottena" in charge of negotiation with Japanese authorities. See N9.
15. Went as bride to the neighbouring Otopuke river area.
18. Went from Shikaripet to be wife of a Kuttarashi man (K18). Her father M5, as reported, had lived from infancy at Asahikawa; but it is not known whether he later came back to Shikaripet or not.
20. The only one of her siblings that married.

23 and 24. Both brothers married women of Memroput on the middle Tokapchi and lived there; 25 alone was at Moseushi.

(24) Explanation of the genealogical chart concerning the Satnai river area.

Three local groups, each forming a single settlement group, made a corporate *shine ekashi ikiru* or *shine itokpa* group. Nupokomap contained 9 houses, Urekarip 3 and Munhunki 3. Four house-heads out of nine of Nupokomap (ST10, 18, 29's husband and 30's), one out of three of Urekarip (ST13's husband and one out of three of Munhunki (ST27) were patrilineal kin descending from a common ancestor from Satnai. All the headmen in the Satnai river area were drawn from these particular kinsmen, those of Nukopomap, Urekarip and Munhunki being ST10, ST13's husband and ST27 respectively.

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1. Male; native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari. A relative of N2, another Asahikawa man.
2. Female; native and resident of Asahikawa.
3. Male; native of Urekarip. Son of a man from the area of the Tottapet, tributary of the river Satnai.
4. Female; native of Satnai.
5. Son of a man from Tottapet in Satnai.
6. Came as bride from Fushiko.

7 and 8. Both natives of Asahikawa; the man and wife came originally with ST9 as escorts and helpers when she came as bride from 'far-off Shikaripet' to Satnai. They remained and settled down by the side of ST9's.

9. Came from Shikaripet as bride. For reasons not known, went back to Shikaripet, where she died.
10. Male; had always been in Satnai. Reported as the then first headman in all the Satnai area.
12. Came as bride from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi seacoast. She was first married to ST11, on whose death she went home to Perutnai taking her children. When she returned to Satnai, was wife of ST31.
13. Female; native of Satnai.
14. Male; probably from Pipairu.
16. Went to Pipaushi as bride. On her spouse's death at Pipaushi, came home to Satnai with her two children (ST33 and 34) and lived at Nupokomap. At the date was living by herself.
17. Male; had always been in Satnai; resident thereof.
19. Male; had always been in Satnai.

20 and 21. Probably native of Pipaushi, with homes there.

23. Male from Fushiko.
24. Native of Satnai.
25. Soon after marriage moved with his wife to her home, Otopuke, at about the time when Ushino, my informant, also moved from Nitmap to Kene, at the outset of the farming-land allotment programme for the Ainu.
26. Female; came as bride from the Otopuke river area.
28. Went to Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi as bride.
29. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
30. Came as bride from Perutnai near the coast of Tokapchi.
31. An only child.
34. Native of Pipaushi; his father having died in his infancy, grew up in Satnai which was his mother's home, and married there. Changed

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



wives. Several times came to Nitmap to join bear ceremonies but his *kotan* is not clearly identified. 601 621

35. Eldest of brothers and sisters. Went in marriage to the Otopuke area and died young. Was outlived by 3 brothers, Ikuchishi, Fushine and Irusanke, who were all unmarried at the date.
36. Had always been in Satnai.
37. Came as bride from Chirokto on the middle Tokapchi.
38. Male; had always been in Satnai. He and ST37 were brothers. Having lost one child, lived childless.
39. Came as bride from Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi.
40. Probably native of Pipaushi. Siblings unknown. Had 6 daughters and 1 son.
41. Female; native of Fushiko.
42. Male; native of Satnai.
43. Female from Fushiko.
44. Female; native of Satnai.
45. Came from Fushiko as bride.

1: Shternberg--198 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6



## II.

### Terms and Forms of Kinship

G *601 177 Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

G 121 *601 171

G *601 171 We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

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T [601 171]

G *601 191 A 601 191 [648]

Ainu AB6 ● Tungus RU5 Goldi RX3

/132 cont./ One could assume that there would be a much greater similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless, here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all, one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus -- /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha -- "akha, aki," general Turkic -- "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and "pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as "a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

G *601 191 T 601 191 Gi [601] [191]

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" -- elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one can say with great confidence that in their language it is a direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently. Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

Gi T 601 191 G *601 191

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/236 cont./
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So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

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The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

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